DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 159 693 CS 204 353

AUTHOR Gutierrez, Felix
TITLE Through Anglo Eyes: Chicanos as Portrayed in the News Media.
PUB DATE Aug 78
NOTE 20p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bias; Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Ethnic Groups; *Ethnic Stereotypes; Illegal Immigrants; Information Sources; Journalism; *Media Research; *Mexican Americans; Minority Groups; *News Media; Newspapers; *News Reporting; Press Opinion; Spanish Americans; Trend Analysis

ABSTRACT

Coverage of Chicanos by the news media, almost nonexistent until the mid-1960s, still has not achieved full balance or objectivity. It is important for media personnel to develop greater competence in handling Chicano coverage since the Latino group, of which Chicanos are the largest segment, are the nation's fastest growing population group and--contrary to their portrayal by the media as a regional group--are dispersed throughout the United States. Research studies on media coverage of Chicanos have shown that coverage, generally low, has been concentrated in periods when Chicanos are either the subject of public issues or perceived as posing a threat to the established order; that stereotypical symbols, often with negative connotations, have been used to designate Chicano groups; that reporters covering Chicanos tend to rely on non-Chicano sources; and that coverage of Chicanos has tended to emphasize negative aspects of the community. A study of 1977-1978 California newspaper coverage of undocumented Chicano workers, or "illegal aliens," shows that reporters relied heavily on Anglo law enforcement and public officials as sources, rather than on representatives of immigrant organizations, legal agencies, Latino groups, and the academic community, and consequently portrayed the undocumented workers as law enforcement or public problems. (GW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED159693

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

THROUGH ANGLO EYES:

CHICANOS AS PORTRAYED IN THE NEWS MEDIA

By

Félix Gutiérrez
Department of Journalism
California State University, Northridge

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Felix Gutierrez

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

A Presentation to the

Panel on Coverage of the Whole Community: Coverage of Non-Elites

of the History Division of the Association for Education in Journalism

61st Annual Convention at the University of Washington

Seattle, Washington

August 13-16, 1978

CS204353

Introductory Discussion

A historical paper on the portrayal of Chicanos by general audience news media should be a fairly short one. This is because for many years Chicanos were the "invisible minority" in the news media. When news organizations began to wake up to the existence of Chicanos in the mid-1960s they often rushed to cover the group with simplistic overviews and facile headlines that revealed more of their own biases then the reality of the people they sought to cover. Thus, the Atlantic headlined a 1967 overview article on Chicanos as "The Minority Nobody Knows," indicating that the if the existence of Chicanos was news to the editors of the Atlantic it must be news to everyone else who mattered. A Time magazine reporter riding through East Los Angeles in 1967 wrote about "tawdry taco joints and rollicking cantinas," "the reek of cheap wine," and "lurid hotrods." A 1969 Los Angeles television documentary was titled "The Siesta Is Over," implying that the area's 2,000,000 Chicanos had been taking it easy for dedades. Such simplistic approaches glossed over the reality of Chicano life in the United States and played on the preconceptions and stereotypes of those controlling the media and their predominantly Anglo audience.

But these efforts did overcome the earlier "invisibility" to which the media had earlier relegated Chicanos and other minorities. As Rubén Salazar, a veteran reporter on Texas and California newspapers, said in 1969:

> There is really little to say about the Mexican American beat in the past except that it did not exist. Mexican Americans traditionally kept their place; so why should the big, important news media take notice of them?[1]

Francisco J. Lewels, head of the mass communication department at the University of Texas at El Paso, made much the some point in his 1974 book The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement. Commenting on news coverage of Chicanos, he wrote:

> Until recently, daily newspapers have given little coverage to the Spanish-speaking community. In the Southwest, Mexican-Americans have been traditionally left out of the news columns except when involved in crimes or accidents. In the society pages, Spanish names simply did not appear unless they were in reference to visiting dignitaries or to the wealthiest Mexican families. In the late 1950s and early 1960s papers began using small pictures of Mexican-American brides on the back page of the society section for the first time, but even then, Anglo marriages were given much larger play.[2]

Lewels stated there was no significant research conducted in the area of newspaper coverage of Mexican Americans and cited a number of examples in Southwestern communities where Chicanos seeking access to the media encountered difficulties in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In that period news organizations were making sometimes blundering efforts to report occurrences in the barrio (often as an offshoot to reporting on the civil rights struggle) and relations between Chicano activists and reporters were rarely smooth. In his 1969 speech Salazar alluded to the problems reporters were having in attempting to cover a community that was more complex than they anticipated. He said:

> The news media is figuratively taking the serape and sombrero wraps off the Mexican American. What it finds under the serape and sombrero, however, seems to puzzle newspapers, radio and television. The media, having ignored Mexican Americans for so long but now willing to report them, seem impatient about the complexities of the story. It's as if the media, having finally discovered the Mexican American, is not amused that under that serape and sombrero is a complex Chicano instead of a potential Gringo.[3]

Over the past decade coverage of the Chicano community has continued to develop and employment of Chicano journalists has grown, although both lag behind equitable representation. Both professionals and community groups have recently pointed out that news organizations must make a stronger commitment to minority representation if they hope to fully reflect the communities they serve.[4] Although more Chicanos than ever are working on general circulation dailies, their numbers are still very low and many apparently are working on Spanish-language sections.[5]

Chicanos are no longer the "invisible minority" in the media, although many national issues (such as coverage of the Bakke case) tend to be played as Black-White stories. It is also apparent that increased coverage does not automatically result in better coverage and understanding. The old headline cliches from the 1960s are still there. For example, a 1978 Washington Post series on Chicanos said the group lives in a part of the United States they call "MexAmerica," the title of the series.[6] The term "MexAmerica" is not used by Chicanos, but was invented by Washington Post staffers to catch they eyes of editors and readers.[7] Like the headline about "The Minority Nobody Knows," the Time magazine reporters perceptions of East Los Angeles, and the documentary on "The Siesta is Over," the Washington Post's "MexAmerica" indicates the persistence of the news media's view of Chicanos through Anglo eyes. It is a view that appears to be strong as the United States approaches a period of rapid Chicano growth.

Chicanos in the United States

The next generation promises to be an era of continued growth for Latinos in the United States, of which Chicanos are the largest segment. As the group's population grows it will continue to demand attention in the nation's news media and, unless news editors are able to demonstrate more competence in handling Chicano coverage, a vast potential for serious conflict remains. One aspect of the story does not remain, however. The sheer numbers of Chicanos and other Latino groups will force the story on editors. The group will no longer be small enough to be ignored on the news pages or segregated as a sidebar to other issues.

Numerically Latinos are the nation's fastest growing population group and will continue to experience even greater growth through the next generation.[8] U.S. Census figures on Latinos, which are admittedly low, put the total U.S. Latino population at about 12 million. But the addition of 3.1 million Puerto Ricans and six to eight million undocumented workers (the federal government's most conservative figures) put the total over 20 million. Lower median age and larger anticipated family sizes insure that the Latino birthrate will continue to surpass

national averages for at least a generation. Between 1970 and 1975 the U.S. Latino population grew by 20%, five times the national average. The possibility of Puerto Rican statehood and legalized status for undocumented workers could accelerate the rate even faster, as could continued migration from Latin America. Demographers and government officials all agree that if present trends continue Latinos will someday have the dubious honor of being the nation's largest minority group. Demographic factors point to it happening sometime early in the next century, but government officials predict it could occur as early as 1990 if political changes are made.

Although the media have tended to portray Latinos as a regional or rural minority group, Latinos are actually a nationally dispersed population with large communities in the Midwest, Northeast and Northwest. New York, Illinois, and New Jersey each have more Latino residents than either Arizona, Colorado or New Mexico. The U.S. city with the largest Latino population is not Los Angeles, San Antonio or Miami; but New York City. Other cities in the top 25 by Latino population include Chicago (number 6), Philadelphia (12) and Washington, D.C. (22). In spite of the image of Latino rural farmworkers, 85% of Latinos live in cities and Latinos have a lower percentage of their workforce in farm labor than the U.S. labor force overall.

But it has been difficult, if not impossible, for most Latinos and Chicanos to translate large numbers and urban representation into better living conditions. Median family income for Latinos is 25% below the U.S. average and nearly one-fourth of all Latinos live in poverty. Other social indicators such as education, housing, health, employment and political representation consistently show Latinos below national norms. Thus, both the magnitude of the population and the complexity of its living conditions will increase the importance of Latinos to others in the United States. How the news media cover Chicanos and other Latino groups will have a large influence on how other sectors of American society respond.

Review of Previous Studies

The remainder of this paper will briefly review the research on how news media have covered the Chicano community and examine aspects of current coverage of undocumented Mexican workers based on the previous research. The paper closes with an analysis of current reporting on this segment of the Chicano community and the implications of current reporting patterns.

(1) Symbols and News Reporting on Chicanos. Previous research by the author has shown that national magazine coverage of Chicanos has usually occurred at times when Chicanos were a topic of national public policy or perceived as a potential threat to the established order.[9] A survey of Readers' Guide citations on Mexicans in the United States from 1890 through 1970 revealed an overall lack of coverage with peaks in coverage at times when Chicanos were perceived as part of a public issue or threat. Such peaks occurred between 1928 and 1931, when limitations on Mexican immigration were being proposed and Chicanos were being forcibly deported; in 1943, when servicemen attacked Chicanos wearing Zootsuits; in 1952 and 1953, when the Border Patrol's "Operation Wetback" swept through Chicano barrios seeking deportable Mexicans; and in 1969 and 1970, when Chicano activists were challenging established institutions. The survey also revealed that magazines used symbols in headlines to portray that segment of the Chicano community that was the target of their attention. The term "Mexican" predominated in the 1928-1931 period, "Zootsuiter" and "Pachuco" were used in headlines during 1943, "Wetback" was common in the 1950s, and "Chicano" in the 1970s. (See Chart 1)

Chart 1. Symbols Used in Magazine Articles About Chicanos (1890-1970)

Time Period	Symbol	Public Issue or Threat
1928-1931	Mexican	Legislation limiting Mexican immigration and forced deportation of Mexicans during the Depression.
1943	Pachuco or Zootsuiter	Attacks by servicemen on Chicano youths.
1952-1953	Wetback	Border Patrol raids seeking deportable Chicanos.
1969-1970	Chicano	Chicano activists challenging established institutions.

The use of symbols in news reporting of Chicanos can have the effect of focussing the readers' attention that that segment of the Chicano population which the media associates with public issues or threats. The symbols also have the effect of triggering stereotypes which capsulize the characteristics associated certain Chicanos in the minds of Anglo readers. Thus, the use of symbols in the news media allow both the media and their audience to use a term which triggers a stereotype about those associated with the term. The role of media in reinforcing stereotypes in society has been amply discussed by others.[10] Of particular usefulness to this discussion is the role of symbols in the media to trigger the stereotypes in the minds of the audience.

-- Lasswell, Lerner and Pool described political symbols in the mass media as serving as becoming "the focal points for the crystallization of sentiment."[11] Katz has noted that since the symbol reduces the need for quantifying the traits associated with the stereotype a disparity may be develop between the symbol and the symbolized, particularly when used in the mass media. He wrote:

> This inability to grasp the difference between the symbol and its referent is one reason for the failure to check back constantly from language to experience and reality....Without such an interplay between symbol and experience, distortion in the symbol cannot be corrected.[12]

Since the average reader, according to Katz, has little motivation to check symbols against reality the news media are relied upon to relate symbols to facts. Allport called symbols designating minority groups as "shrieking sirens, deafening us to all finer discriminations that we might otherwise perceive."[13] Such symbols may refer to only one characteristic perceived in the group, but it becomes the dominant factor in perception of members of that group and activates a set of similar stereotypes associated with the symbol. He continued:

> Until we labe an out-group it does not clearly exist in our minds.... The common use of the orphaned pronoun <u>they</u> teaches us that people often want and need to designate out-groups (usually for the purpose of venting hostility) even when they have no clear conception of the out-group in question. And so long as the target of wrath remains vague and ill-defined specific prejudice cannot crystallize around it. To have enemies we need labels.[14]

Two sociologists who studied use of symbols in newspaper coverage for a 10 year period preceeding the 1943 Los Angeles Zootsuit Riots showed how use of unabiguously negative symbols helped set conditions for the attacks on Chicano youths.[15] Turner and Surace hypothesized that the media would use the term "Mexican" in increasingly unfavorable contexts in the period before the riots. They found, instead, that the term "Mexican" had an ambiguous meaning and was used in both favorable and unfavorable contexts over the period studied. They also found "a striking decline in the total number of articles mentioning the (term) Mexican"[16] in the period just preceeding the riots. Instead of using the term "Mexican" the news reports used the term "Zootsuiter," which the researchers called "a new symbol which has no past favorable connotations to lose."[17] The new unambiguous symbol with clearly unfavorable connotations helped focus public sentiment against Chicanos that resulted in violent attacks against Chicano youths. Turner and Surace explained:

> It (the negative symbol) provided the public sanction and restriction of attention essential to the development of overt crowd hostility. The symbol 'zoot-suiter' evoked none of the imagery of the romantic past. It evoked only the picture of a breed of persons outside the normative order, devoid of morals themselves, and consequently not entitled to fair play and due process. Indeed, the zoot-suiter came to be regarded as such an exclusively fearful threat to the community that at the height of rioting the Los Angeles City Council seriously debated an ordinance making the wearing of zoot suits a prison offense.[18]

The new negative term could also be used as a convenient catchall for all the negative elements previously attached to the term "Mexican." The new symbol became "an omnibus, drawing together the most reprehensible elements in the old unfavorable themes, namely sex crimes, delinquency, gang attacks, draft-dodgers."[19] The symbol facilitated attacks on all elements of the Chicano community, whether Zootsuiters or not, the authors note. While servicemen were attacking Mexican indiscriminately "the great majority heard only of attacks on zoot-suiters."[20] Thus, the negative symbol, while supposedly pertaining to only a segment of the Chicano community, became a rallying point for anti-Mexican sentiment and mob violence against Chicanos.

Research previously cited in this paper indicates that national magazine coverage of Chicanos has peaked during periods when Chicanos were perceived as part of a public issue or threat to the established order. It has also been shown that magazines have used symbols in their headlines to designate the segment of the Chicano community attracting the public attention. Although only Turner and Surace have statistically examined the context in which symbols have been used in news coverage, it is unlikely that the symbols have been used exclusively in positive contexts. Some of the terms, such as "Mexican," apparently had both positive and negative overtones. Others, such as "Pachuco," "Zootsuiter," and "Wetback," have clear negative connotations by virtue of their definition or the Turner-Surace study. The term "Chicano," while used in a variety of contexts in the Latino community, has apparently been perceived by the news media as having negative overtones and has been used to describe activists seeking societal changes, often through confrontation tactics. The current Associated Press and United Press International stylebooks describe the term as "not always derogatory,"[21] indicating the negative contexts in which the news media may be accustomed to using the symbol. Thus, of the five symbols identified in the study of magazine headlines from 1890 to 1970, one has ambiguous meanings and four have been shown to be used by the media with predominantly negative contexts.

(2) Patterns of News Reporting on Chicanos. Inadequate or one-sided coverage of Chicano issues are a popular topic of conversation among Chicanos concerned with media. Those most active in the area tend to feel that the quality of coverage is still lacking, despite increasing media attention. In a 1971 position paper on Chicanos and the media Reyes and Rendón stated:

> We have come to expect at best, only lies and half-truths, slanted reports and commentaries from the news media. Usually, however, we are merely ignored and made to feel the impotence and frustration of a suppressed and impovrished people. The apparent disdain which we sense from the news media suggests to us that only the most extreme form of activism will coerce the attention of newsmen and news pundits.[22]

These and other complaints about news coverage have been largely supported by researchers who have systematically examined newspaper coverage of Chicanos. Chavira, who compared English and Spanish-language newspaper coverage of forced Mexican deportations in the 1930s, 1950s, and 1970s, found that the Spanish-language press exhibited more balanced coverage by showing concern for those being deported and, in the first two periods, citing a wider variety of sources than the English-language newspaper analyzed. The Anglo audience press, by contrast, relied primarily on law enforcement and public agency officials as sources and tended to portray the story as a "numbers game--how many 'illegals' were caught, how many got away, and how much 'illegals' cost taxpayers."[23]

Thus, while many stories in the Anglo audience press appeared to be objective, factual reports, they actually were one-sided accounts which largely ignored angles pursued by the Spanish-language press and relied on sources with a limited perception of the issue. Other researchers have also reported that the "Anglo eyes" of many reporters and their editors lead to a slanting of seemingly objective stories concerning Chicanos.

For instance, an examination of New Mexico newspaper coverage of 1967 and 1968 pre-trial proceedings of a Chicano activist by an impartial panel familiar with the case concluded that the newspapers had disseminated "prejudicial, inaccurate, and non-judicial content during pretrial coverage."[24] A study of coverage of Chicanos in 10 dailies across the United States for a six month period in 1970 found that, despite the higher number of Chicanos in the Southwest, Southwestern newspapers did not publish more articles about Chicanos than did other newspapers in the sample. The researcher, Sánchez, reported that when Chicanos were covered the news was often negative and that negative stories concerning Chicanos were longer than those reporting positive aspects.[25]

Like Chavira, Sánchez found reliance on non-Chicano news sources and felt this was one cause of the largely negative coverage. Only 30% of the articles written about Chicanos listed Chicanos as the primary source of attribution. Almost 20% had no attribution and half had Anglos as the primary source. After

comparing sources with the type of information in the article Sánchez concluded that "the use of dominant society members as primary sources of attribution in the articles about Mexican Americans did mean that most of the articles would have a negative direction."[26]

A 1971 study of three daily newspapers in San Antonio, a city about half Chicano, found that Chicanos were underrepresented in all categories of news coverage when compared with Anglos of similar socio-economic status.[27] The researcher, Lee, placed more emphasis on this underrepresentation than on the direction or type of coverage. She wrote:

> The results of the study are similar to the findings of studies of media treatment of other minority groups. They indicate that the newspaper image of Mexican Americans in San Antonio is inaccurate. Mexican Americans are not explicitly labeled, directly stereotyped, or otherwise discriminated against. They are neglected. At almost all occupational and income levels they are under-represented in the news.[28]

(3) Summary of Previous Studies. The studies cited in this study have noted the following characteristics in news media coverage of Chicanos: (1) Historically coverage has been low and concentrated in periods when Chicanos are either the subject of public issues or perceived as posing a threat to the established order, (2) In these periods the news media have used symbols, often with negative connotations, to designate groups within the Chicano community, (3) These symbols serve to trigger stereotypes which crystalize public perceptions and actions regarding Chicanos, (4) Reporters covering Chicanos tend to rely on sources outside the Chicano community for information on Chicanos, and (5) Coverage of Chicanos has tended to emphasize negative or unfavorable aspects of the community.

California Newspaper Coverage of Undocumented Workers

The five elements noted from the previous studies were incorporated in a study of newspaper coverage of a segment of the Chicano community currently experiencing widespread media attention; undocumented workers or "illegal aliens." The study, a pretest for a more comprehensive national survey, analyzed reporting patterns in California newspapers over a 14-month period from January 1977 through February 1978.[29]

The articles were identified through the "INS News Digest", which carries an index and copies of newspaper and magazine stories on immigration in the United States. The Digest is prepared by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which receives articles from its regional offices, compiles them, and distributes the Digest periodically. This survey includes all Digests from January 31, 1977 through March 1-15, 1978 (Volumes 1-45). Access to the Digests was facilitated by Felipe Castruita of One-Stop Immigration and Armando Vasquez of the Centro Chicano of the University of Southern California. In surveying the index to the articles in each volume 342 articles in California newspapers were identified. From these 342 California news articles a random (skip interval) sample of 114 newspaper articles was selected. This represents one-third of the articles appearing in California newspapers for that period.

The articles were coded in categories based on the findings of earlier studies and to reflect the increased employment of Latino reporters. The statistical breakdowns in this report include: (1) Number of Articles by Newspaper, (2) Symbol Used in Headline, (3) Themes in Headlines, (4) Length of Articles, (5) Ethnicity of Reporter, (6) Types of Sources Cited, and (7) Ethnicity of Sources Cited. Each of these breakdowns is reported in the text and illustrated by a table.

1. Number of Articles by Newspaper. The survey revealed that the newspaper carrying most articles on undocumented workers was the San Diego Union with 58 of the 114 articles. Following in order were the Los Angeles Times (29 articles), San Diego Tribune (10), Los Angeles Herald-Examiner (5), and 12 other newspapers (12).

1. Number of Articles by Newspaper in the California Sample

Newspaper	Number of Articles
1. San Diego Union	58
2. Los Angeles Times	29
3. San Diego Tribune	10
4. Los Angeles Herald-Examiner	5
5. Other Newspapers	12
Total	114

2. Symbol Used in Headline. The survey revealed that the term "Alien," closely followed by the term "Illegal Alien," is most commonly used to designate undocumented Mexican immigrants. Of the 64 articles that used symbols in the headlines, 29 used the term "Alien" or "Aliens" and 26 used "Illegal Alien" or "Illegal Aliens." No other terms were used with comparable frequency in the headlines. (Table follows)

2. Symbols Used in Headlines in the California Sample

Symbol	Number of Times Used
1. Alien or Aliens	29
2. Illegal Alien or Illegal Aliens	26
3. Bracero	4
4. Illegals	2
5. Refugees	1
6. Guest Workers	1
7. Illegal Workers	1

3. Topics in Headlines. The survey revealed that the largest percentages of coverage in California newspaper headlines concerned law enforcement (28 headlines treated this topic). Following was the closely related topic of border violence and problems (14 headlines). Then followed the Carter immigration plan (11), problems undocumented workers are alleged to cause public agencies (10), the entry of aliens (9), employment (9), comments by politicians (8), reactions by Latinos (8), the Mexican side of the immigration issue (6), articles on INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo (4), and problems facing undocumented workers (4). Thus, of the top four topic categories three concern law enforcement, border, or public agency problems ascribed to undocumented workers. (The total number of topics does not total 114 because some headlines treated more than one topic and others were not easily categorized.)

3. Topics in Newspaper Headlines in the California Sample

Topic	Number of References
1. Law Enforcement	28
2. Border Violence and Problems	14
3. Carter Plan for Immigration	11
4. Public Agency Problems	10
5. Influx	9
6. Employment	9
7. Comments by Politicians	8
8. Reactions by Latinos	8
9. Mexico's Side of the Issue	6
10. Profiles on Leonel Castillo	4
11. Problems Faced by Undocumented Workers	4

4. Length of Articles. The survey revealed that the articles on undocumented workers were in the middle range of most newspaper articles. The largest number of articles fell in the range of 11 to 15 paragraphs (27) and was closely followed by the 16 to 20 paragraph range (23 articles). Only three articles were less than five paragraphs, while six were over 30 paragraphs. (See table on the following page.)

4. Length of Newspaper Articles in the California Sample

Length in Paragraphs	Number of Articles
1. Less than 5 paragraphs	3
2. 5-10 paragraphs	18
3. 11-15 paragraphs	27
4. 16-20 paragraphs	23
5. 21-25 paragraphs	17
6. 26-30 paragraphs	20
7. More than 30 paragraphs	6
Total	114

5. Ethnicity of Reporter. The ethnicity of the reporter was determined, unless otherwise indicated by the surname. Reporter ethnicity was considered to be an important variable because California is the only state that borders both on the Latin American and Pacific borders of the United States and, thus, receives heavy immigration from both Latin America and Asia. Assignment of Latino and Asian reporters to immigration stories would greatly facilitate the ability of newspapers to penetrate sources from the migration streams both in and out of the United States and would probably indicate the reporters had greater awareness and sensitivity to the issue. The survey results revealed that Anglo reporters outnumbered Spanish surnamed reporters by a more than two to one margin (63 Anglo bylines to 28 Spanish bylines). Fifteen of the stories had no byline, nine came from wire services, and one was written by a Black columnist. Thus, of the 117 bylines less than one-fourth were written by Latinos and none by Asians. It should be noted that of the 28 Latino bylines, 26 came from two reporters, Frank Del Olmo of the Los Angeles Times and George Ramos, then of the San Diego Union and now of the Los Angeles Times. (See table below).

5. Ethnicity of Reporter in the California Sample

Byline Identification	Number of Bylines
1. Anglo surname	63
2. Spanish surname	28
3. Wire Service/No Byline	9
4. Black	1
5. No Byline	15
Total	117*

*Some stories authored by more than one reporter.

6. Types of Sources Cited. The types of sources cited by reporters in the stories on undocumented workers were analyzed to find out where the reporters were going for information on the topic. The results are broken down into two columns. One column indicates the number of stories in which sources from each of the 12 categories were cited. The second column shows the number of sources from this category that were cited in the newspaper articles. The survey revealed that reporters relied most heavily on law enforcement sources (143 law enforcement sources cited in 73 stories) in seeking information on undocumented workers. This was followed by public agency representatives or officials (128 sources in 59 stories) and much more distantly by Latino organizations, Anglo organizations, legal groups, academics, the general public, immigration groups, undocumented workers, employers, labor, and others. (See table below.)

6. Types of Sources Cited in the California Sample

Type of Source	Number of Stories in Which Sources of this Type Were Cited	Number of Sources of this Type Cited in Stories
1. Law Enforcement	73	143
2. Public Agency or Official	59	128
3. Latino Organization	16	18
4. Anglo Organization	10	18
5. Legal Agency or Association	7	10
6. Academic/University	6	7
7. General Public	6	9
8. Immigration Organization	6	6
9. Undocumented Worker	4	7
10. Employer	4	4
11. Labor Organization	2	2
12. Other	7	9

7. Ethnicity of Sources Cited. The ethnicity of sources cited by reporters in stories on undocumented workers was analyzed to find out what ethnic groups were represented as news sources. The results are broken into two columns as in the previous table. The survey revealed that the reporters relied most heavily on Anglo sources (161 sources in 83 stories), followed by some distance by Latinos (104 sources in 53 stories), and even more distantly by Blacks, Asians, and Native Americans. (See table below).

7. Ethnicity of Sources in the California Sample

Ethnicity	Number of Stories in Which Sources of this Type Were Cited	Number of Sources of this Type Cited in Stories
1. Anglo	83	161
2. Latino	53	104
3. Black	6	8
4. Asian	3	3
5. Native American	1	6

Discussion. California newspaper coverage of undocumented workers during the 1977-78 period surveyed can be summarized as "Anglos quoting Anglos about Mexicans," since the overwhelming majority of sources and reporters were Anglo. In addition, since reporters relied so heavily on law enforcement and public offials as sources the topics of stories as revealed in headlines portrayed undocumented workers as law enforcement or public problems. Conversely, the low number of sources from immigration organizations, legal agencies, Latino groups, academics and the undocumented themselves would seem to indicate that sources which could lend a broader objectivity and insight to the issue were largely ignored by reporters.

The media's heavy use of the term "illegal alien" and its shortened version "alien," as a symbol for undocumented workers probably reinforces the image of the undocumented worker as a law enforcement or public problem. The symbol, which has no legal applicability, is a euphemism with a double negative meaning. It brands those associated with it as lawbreakers and outsiders before the reader even reaches the context of the story. In reality, legality of status is properly adjudicated only in an immigration law proceeding. The term "illegal alien" is similar to newspapers referring to suspects as convicted criminals before they have been tried. Given the historical use of negative symbols to describe Chicanos in the news media, news organizations should be especially careful in their use of terms to describe undocumented workers. These media symbols, whether intentional or not, have come at times when repressive public acts have been perpetrated on the Chicano community. It is likely that historians in the future will assess the term "illegal alien" in the same manner that contemporary scholars analyze "Zootsuiter," "Pachuco," and "Wetback."

The use of such a symbol and the negative stereotype it triggers helps build public support for unusually harsh measures in dealing with those associated with the symbol. It is in this atmosphere of public fear that the general public allows violations of civil and other rights. These violations can take the role of either actions by government agencies or private individuals and groups, as in the case

of the recent Ku Klux Klan patrol along the border. By using negative symbols and allowing a one-sided, largely negative, image of the undocumented worker to be portrayed, the media allow themselves to be used in fomenting the climate for actions they may later disavow. Therefore, editors should be diligent and demanding in requiring that reporters covering this issue dig out sources which present a full and complete picture in an objective manner. In this regard it should be noted that, although no statistical analysis was performed, the articles by Latino reporters appeared to have a wider and more balanced range of sources than those by non-minority reporters.

Since this report constitutes only a pilot study of a large research project it is difficult to make more than tentative conclusions at this point. However, it can be stated with some assurance that the print media in California, while they have increased their coverage of this issue, have along way to go if they wish to present consistently balanced and objective coverage. Such efforts should start with assigning reporters with a knowledge of the language and background of the issues and must include efforts to go beyond the law enforcement and public officials with whom reporters often feel relatively comfortable. Sources should be sought among organizations and agencies working directly with undocumented workers and among the undocumented workers themselves. If this is not done the public will receive a largely one-sided view of the community. This view, coupled with the continued use of the double negative term "illegal alien", could well help to build the climate for massive violations of civil rights and/or private violence against the undocumented. No doubt the media would deplore these actions on their editorial pages, as they did the Ku Klux Klan border watch. But they would have contributed to them through their one-sided coverage on the news pages.

Notes

1. Ruben Salazar, "The Mexican-American Newsbeat--Past Practices and New Concepts," in Southwest Texas Conference on Mass Media and Mexican-Americans, Sponsored by the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Justice, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, January 18, 1969, p. 33.

2. Francisco J. Lewels, Jr., The Uses of the Media by the Chicano Movement, (New York: Prager Publishers, 1974), p. 44.

3. Salazar, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

4. See Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, August 1977) pp. 49-55; Marion Marzolf and Melba Tolliver, Kerner Plus 10, (Howard R. Marsh Center for the Study of Journalistic Performance, University of Michigan, 1977); Walter Stovall, "Desegregation of Press by Year 2000 is Urged," Editor & Publisher, April 15, 1978, p. 7, 13; Latinos and Newspapers, Position paper of the California Chicano News Media Association for the National Conference on Minorities and the News, Washington, D.C., April 8, 1978; and M. L. Stein, "Latinos Seek More News in U.S. Dailies," Editor & Publisher, May 27, 1978, p. 61.

5. See Adele Schultz, "In the Public Eye: Latinos in the Media," Agenda, Third Quarter 1975, pp. 17-23, Alfredo López, "Latino Journalists: Bringing New Fire to the Newsroom" and Félix Gutiérrez, "One Critic's View: The News is Not all Good," Nuestro, March 1978, pp. 22-28; and "Minorities Comprise 4% of Newsroom Employees," Editor & Publisher, April 15, 1978, p. 9, 30.

6. See the Washington Post, March 20-24, 1978.

7. Conversation with Benjamin Bradlee, Washington Post Executive Editor, April 8, 1978, Washington, D.C. and conversation with Lou Cannon, Washington Post West Coast Manager, July 31, 1978, Berkeley, California.

8. For current compilations of information on Latino demographic trends see "Spanish-language Market Study," Television/Radio Age, November 7, 1977, pp. S-1--S-24; Joseph Aguayo, "Latinos: Los Que Importan Son Ustedes," Sales & Marketing Management, July 11, 1977, pp. 23-29; and "So They All Speak Spanish," Media Decisions, May 1977, pp. 68-71, 116.

9. Félix Gutiérrez, "Chicanos and Symbols: A Study of Magazine Headlines," Unpublished Term Paper, Communication 227, Stanford University, Autumn 1971. For an overall treatment of Chicano history see Rodolfo Acuña, Occupied America, (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1973).

10. See Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958); Richard Carter, "Stereotyping as a Process," Public Opinion Quarterly, 1962, pp. 77-91; Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, (New York: The Free Press, 1965); and C. Wright Mills, "Some Effects of Mass Media," in Alan Casty (ed.), Mass Media and Mass Man. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968).

11. Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and Ithiel de Sola Pool, The Comparative Study of Symbols, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1952), p. 14.

12. Daniel Katz, "Psychological Barriers to Communication," in Wilbur Schramm (ed.) Mass Communications, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1960), p. 319.

13. Allport, pp. cit., p. 175.

14. Ibid., p. 179.

15. Ralph H. Turner and Samuel Surace, "Zootsuiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 1956, pp. 14-20. For additional information on the "Zootsuit Riots" see "Blood on the Pavements" in Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1949) pp. 244-259.

16. Turner and Surace, Op. cit., p. 18.

17. Ibid., p. 19.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 20.

20. Ibid.

21. See Bobby Ray Miller, The UPI Stylebook, (New York: United Press International, 1977), p. 36 and Howard Angione, The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual, (Washington, D.C.: Associated Press, 1978), p. 41.

22. Domingo Nick Reyes and Armando Rendón, Chicanos and the Mass Media, (Washington, D.C.: The National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, Inc., 1971).

23. Ricardo Chavira, "A Case Study: Reporting of Mexican Emigration and Deportation," Journalism History, Summer 1977, p. 59. See also Ricardo Chavira, "Reporting in Two Los Angeles Dailies of Mexican Deportations and Emigration from the United States," Masters Thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1975.

24. Rubén Valdez, "A Case Study in Pretrial Criminal News Reporting: The Río Arriba County Courthouse Raid of June 5, 1967 Involving Reíes López Tijerina," Masters Thesis, West Virginia University, 1970.

25. Leo Anthony Sánchez, "Treatment of Mexican Americans by Selected U.S. Newspapers, January-June 1970," Masters Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1973, p. 120.

26. Ibid., p. 122.

27. Sylvia Anne Lee, "Image of Mexican Americans in San Antonio Newspapers: A Content Analysis," Masters Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1973.

28. Ibid., p. 61.

29. For additional information in news media treatment of immigration see Susan Jacoby, "Immigration and the News Media: A Journalistic Failure," Migration Today, April 1977, pp. 20-22.